NATIONAL REVIEW

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June 14, 1958

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

De Gaulle Postpones a Showdown

AN EDITORIAL

Voluntary Taxation— A New Political Concept

MILDRED ADAMS McLEARN

The Meaning of McCarthyism

FRANK S. MEYER

Articles and Reviews by · · · WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN
GEORGE KREMER · RUSSELL KIRK · JAMES BURNHAM

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For the Record

UN officials, furious at Povl Bang-Jensen, the brave Dane who would not reveal the names of Hungarians who testified against the Reds, in their attempt to oust him from his UN job are refusing him rudimentary procedural rights. . . . California Democrats, who all along predicted a victory for Pat Brown in the Democratic primary, are, Brown having duly won, shouting "Upset!" Senator Knowland never expected to win the Democratic primary. He is content to hold back for the big push in September.

With the aid of twenty-four Republican votes, the New York State Assembly has killed a bill which would make a year's residence in the state a prerequisite for collecting relief. . . . The Administration is trying to get Congress to lift the ceiling on the number of so-called super-grades in the federal civil service. In 1949, Congress authorized 400 super-grade appointments—has increased them over the years to 1,400. Now the bureaucracy wants the ceiling lifted entirely.

Communist and fellow-traveling trade union members in England are pressuring their unions to institute a work boycott of rocket bases and nuclear bombs. . . . Despite the difficulty which the U.S. Information Agency constantly meets in getting American literature read abroad, a private book distributor, The Bookmailer, is now filling orders from 109 foreign countries.

The chancellor of Peking University has just written a special treatise on a "New Theory of Population" in which he estimates Red China's annual population increase at 13,000,000. . . . Dr. Morton Fried of Columbia University, billed as "an authority on Red China" by one New York newspaper, is quoted: "Communist China is promoting family life with enormous zeal.". . . A Hungarian paper reports Minister of State Gyoergy Marosan as having said: "We can, of course, use jokes and satire against hostile and reactionary views . . . but we will not tolerate jokes against socialism."

Dr. Fred Schwarz, the eloquent and erudite Australian who abandoned his medical practice to devote himself to the struggle against Communism, plans to found a branch of his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in Washington next fall. His testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities may be secured by writing the Committee.

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● Seems like every time we look around, there's another standard falling. Take today's bank robber. According to FBI agent Richard Auerback, he's "a rank amateur, slow witted and less than average in intelligence . . . unpredictable and dangerous as a rattlesnake." "He doesn't seem to plan carefully . . . and often goes to pieces at the crucial moment." Auerback, understand, isn't exactly a fan of Willie Sutton; but he says that Sutton and other old-timers handled their jobs like professionals, and "didn't go around shooting people willy-nilly." Well, what can you expect when a reform school will graduate practically anybody these days?

● Has American education responded to the "challenge" of the Sputnik? The executive secretary of the National Education Association, weeping crocodile tears over what he sees as he looks out over the nation, thinks not: eight months have passed, he says, and "so far it has been just talk, talk, talk." The evidence? Ah! Just as we thought: "I have yet to hear of a state legislature or the Congress . . . doing anything. . . . Congress is proceeding as though the space age were a thousand light years in the future." The appropriate response to the Soviet challenge, in other words, is Federal Aid to Education—*not* the return of American education to the first principles of Western learning, *not* the elimination of educational jackanapes like many of the bureaucrats of the NEA, *not* the avoidance rather than the imitation of the educational strategies of the Soviet school system. Of course the executive secretary of the NEA favored and propagandized for federal aid long before there was a Sputnik, the relationship between the advent of the latter and the necessity for the former having been wholly contrived. Fortunately, enough Congressmen were educated before NEA took charge of the nation's schools to have developed the intellectual skills to penetrate the hoax.

● We welcome Leonard Hall's announcement that he is seeking the Republican nomination for Governor of New York. The former Republican National Chairman, an affable and experienced legislator, has forgotten more about politics and government than the incumbent Democrat, Averell Harriman, will ever know, and on top of that is a man of conservative instinct. Certainly he is on every score preferable to Nelson Rockefeller, the dreamboat of Modern Republicans. But Mr. Hall's experience for many years has chiefly been with affairs in Washington. State Senate Majority Leader Walter Mahoney, on the other hand, is a courageous conservative with twenty years of uninterrupted service in Albany. How about Mahoney for Governor and Hall for Senator? Now *there's* a ticket!

● In contrast to the similar cyclical periods of the 1953-54, 1948-49 and all earlier economic downturns, the consumer price indices have continued to increase during the current recession. Commenting on this unprecedented trend, which challenges the traditional concepts of supply and demand, the Institute of Life Insurance declares in a recent study: "Much of the strength and persistence of inflationary forces is due to the steadily increasing rigidity of the business and industrial cost structure, largely reflecting the fact that productivity increases have been lagging behind the rise in wage rates and other production costs."

● In splitting (44-51), on the vote to support General de Gaulle's installation as Premier, the Socialist Party of France remained true to the historical law that all social-democratic parties collapse when confronted with a serious crisis. This law was first demonstrated in 1914, when the European socialist parties on both sides of the Rhine, all of them theoretically anti-war, split wide open over the issue of living up to their ideology or to their duty as citizens. In France in 1940 a comparable split occurred over support of Pétain and the Vichy regime. Political reality thus once more repeats its exposure of the social-democratic illusion that there can be a secure half-way station between those who want to destroy a nation and those who, whatever their mutual differences, seek to defend it.

● You could hear Tito's squeals all the way across the Atlantic. The effrontery of it all! That lying Bolshevik, Khrushchev! 285 million dollars in promised Soviet credit to Yugoslavia "postponed for five years"!—just like that, no notice, no discussion, just a simple announcement in *Pravda!* Tito had even begun spending the money, and had made the most elaborate plans about what he was going to do with the rest of it. . . . And then, dear reader, did the Soviet Foreign Minister rush to the Presidium and the Supreme Soviet to warn his colleagues that "to cut down foreign aid means to lose the cold war," that "all funds for Yugoslavia must be restored at once or Tito will turn away from the Soviet world and accept the leadership of Washington"? No. Because he knows something we don't know. He knows that the way to keep gangsters like Tito in line is to knock

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them on the head, not to lick their boots. And, sure enough, Yugoslavia continued its active support of every Soviet policy, everywhere in the world.

● The brand new United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A., born of the merger of two denominations, has lisped out its first joint pronouncement as spokesman for three million members: "We today must coexist with Communist nations." The statement, authored by the Reverend John A. Mackay, President of the Princeton Theological Seminary and practiced fellow traveller, Rev. Theophilus M. Taylor, the UPC's "moderator," and Robert J. Cardigan, editor of *Presbyterian Life*, does not advocate that we tolerate evil in *all* its guises. Lashing out at the "international hypocrisy . . . abhorrent to Christians," by which we count "among our allies some nations which are in no sense free," they rule that we "must not ignore the suppression of God-given human rights in any land," that we must prefer "righteousness" to "national security." It is good to know that even though Messrs. Mackay, Taylor and Cardigan approve coexistence with Communism, they are so concerned about the purity of our allies as to warrant the prediction that they will oppose aid to Poland and Yugoslavia.

● The average member of Congress spends a lot of time every evening fancying up—or even extending—his "remarks" of the day, for publication in the *Congressional Record*. Representative Curtis of Missouri disapproves, and proposes to do something about it. "There has been a real abuse of the privilege of revising and extending remarks . . ." he said recently on the floor—and prepared an amendment. "This amendment is not revolutionary. It would simply provide that you would have in slanting type, if it went into the *Record*, what was not [actually] said on the floor . . ." Since most of the wit and eloquence one sees in "spontaneous" discourse in the halls of Congress is strictly post-operative, congressional consternation is understandable. The Congressmen are afraid that, unedited, they'd sound like the Chief Executive; and that would be horrible.

De Gaulle Postpones a Showdown—and a Solution

It was a little too slick, that Sunday "investiture" of Charles de Gaulle as Premier of France. You don't solve a nation's deep crisis—a crisis which, like that of present-day France, is social and moral as well as political—quite so easily. It was as if the Fourth Republic's "game of musical chairs" that since 1946 has placed 25 successive premiers in the top seat had broadened into a formal ballet with the solemn general leading the troupe through a set of geometrically ordered paces.

The crisis has not been "solved"—as we are being told by the commentators who are sighing with relief at de Gaulle's seeming submission to the norms of Liberal conduct—but once more evaded. The Cabinet list provides a sufficient clue to the true situation: Guy Mollet, former Premier, Socialist; Pierre Pflimlin, former-and-just-repudiated Premier, Popular Republican; Antoine Pinay, former Premier, Independent . . . But these are just the men who led France into the impasse that provoked the open crisis. Theirs are the political groupings that have made up the "regime of parties" which de Gaulle has held accountable for the misery of France. Would de Gaulle as General have constituted his staff by appointing the officers who had invariably led their troops to defeat?

Now it may be that General de Gaulle had no alternative, or none that he was ready to choose, to surrounding himself with the very men and parties that he has been pledged for eleven years to replace. De Gaulle had impaled himself on the horns of a self-defined dilemma. In effect he was asking the Fourth Republic to install him in power in order to liquidate the Fourth Republic. He demanded that the Assembly, the regime of parties, should voluntarily commit suicide. They say in France that no politician will voluntarily accept political death unless the sole alternative is physical death. The army in Algeria was pressing the French parliamentary matadors very close to the moment of truth when they would have had to face that unpleasant choice; but

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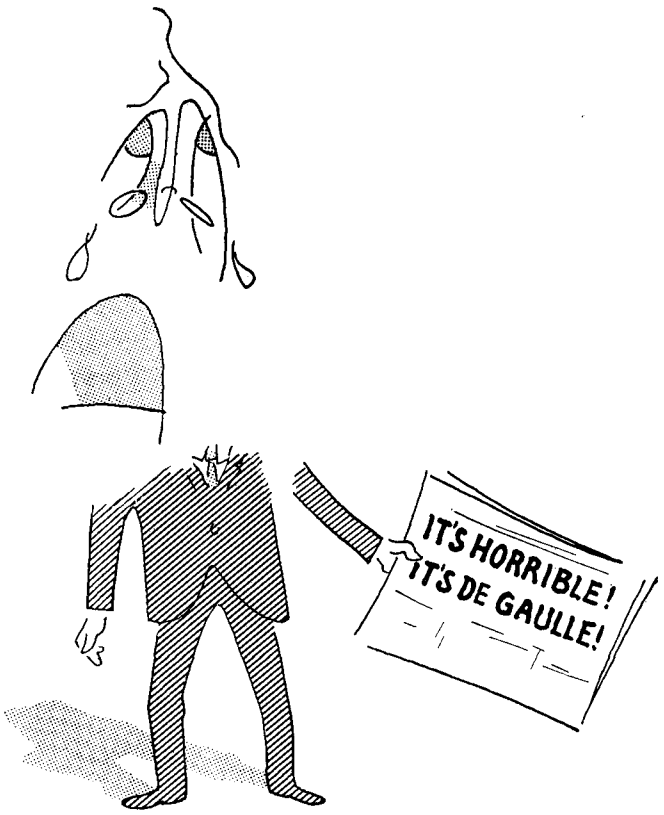

Kreuttner

"He wouldn't have been cleared by Sidney!"

de Gaulle moved, before a climax was reached, to ease the pressure. The regime of parties was at its last gasp, but it managed to hang on; and now, though whimpering and bedraggled, it survives in the de Gaulle Cabinet.

So the dilemma still blocks de Gaulle's path. The problem is obvious enough. The Mollet-Pflimlin-Pinay crowd and the parties they represent have proved, conclusively, that they and their political methods *cannot* solve the issues that determined the crisis: the Algerian war (together with the broader problem of the overseas French Union); fiscal irresponsibility; the presence of the Communist State-within-the-State. De Gaulle, therefore, can solve them only by a clean break with these men, parties and methods. But the present Cabinet symbolizes the fact that the break is not yet accomplished. If the de Gaulle Government continues on this present basis, then, in spite of all the rhetoric on all sides, it will peter out into just the twenty-sixth round of the frivolous game of musical chairs. If de Gaulle moves into decisive action, then it will have to be over the political corpses of many of the colleagues that he has just finished naming. The resolution of the crisis is thus not achieved but postponed.

General de Gaulle is mistaken in his apparent belief that the defects of the constitution are the root of the Fourth Republic's disease. The constitution is, certainly, a far from ideal charter. It facilitates—*but it does not create*—the disruptive forces at work in French society, and the anarchic fragmentation of the political will of the French nation. No mere rewriting of the constitutional clauses is going to get rid of these destructive forces or reknit that raveled will. While committees debate the new constitution, the Communists will be forging the united front that can now begin with the half of the Socialist Party that voted against de Gaulle and the Mendès-France wing of the Radical Socialists. Surely de Gaulle realizes that there can be no rebirth of France without the death of French Communism! Can he believe that in the battle with the Communists he will continue to have as reliable allies the very men of the Left and the Center who have allowed French Communism to flourish?

A States' Rights Decision

In the 1930's, the U.S. Supreme Court found the NRA to be unconstitutional. Then it changed its line of reasoning in time to save the New Deal's agricultural program which, basically, is subject to the same constitutional criticisms. However craven the shift, "the switch in time saved nine," as Capitol cynics were quick to note.

This propensity of the Court to lean with the wind does not argue very strongly for the judicial caliber of our highest tribunal. But if pressure can redound to the benefit of the totalitarian Liberals, it can, on occasion, work the other way around. Within the past fortnight the Warren Court, which has been severely criticized for its palpably unlawful infringement of states' rights in the *Nelson* case, has reversed itself in a couple of labor cases. In the *Nelson* case the Court had ruled that the Smith Act took all jurisdiction in Communist subversion cases away from the states.

Quick to adapt the doctrine of federal pre-emption to their own uses, labor leaders argued that the existence of the Taft-Hartley Act meant that state courts had no jurisdiction in labor cases. It was the contention of the labor leaders that the National Labor Relations Board had final authority not only in collective bargaining but also over questions involving union violence on the picket line. Wonder to behold, the Supreme Court has crossed the labor leaders up by ruling that state courts have jurisdiction in damage cases arising out of union activity. By reversing the pattern of the *Nelson* case, the Supreme Court restores protection of the individual worker to local judges. The practical effect of the decision is apt to be far-reaching, for it means that workers who are

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kept from working by coercive union tactics can now sue a union for damages with pretty fair chances of collecting.

Preludes to "Disaster"

Every year we go through the same charade over reciprocal trade. The propaganda goes out that if Congress hacks at an Administration bill, "disaster" will result. On the other hand, there are the predictions that if the bill is accepted, the world will be on its way to universal prosperity. Now, all of this is palpable nonsense: reciprocal trade is already hedged about by all sorts of "peril point" "escape clause" "safeguards" which make it a most nominal thing. The "concessions" which we grant to other countries in return for concessions received by ourselves recognize practices designed to protect the vested interests of virtually everybody. Still and all, the doctrine of comparative advantage continues to get a fair play. Without benefit of engineered "reciprocity" the U.S. still gets its pepper, its cocoa, its tin and its small "economy" automobiles from overseas. And it still markets its sewing machines and its office equipment to countries not making these things for themselves.

The real trade revolution would be to junk the niggling preoccupation with trading small concessions for small concessions in favor of announcing to the world that we are willing to stand on our own feet in everything. This would force us not only to get rid of tariffs but also to stop internal policies which make the U.S. a high-cost producer of things which might otherwise move with ease into foreign markets. Are our many pressure groups willing to dispense with the internal high-cost stilts? Echo is still waiting for the answer.

In the Best of Circles

By what standards does the *Saturday Review* decide what to publish, and what not to? Surely if Senator McCarthy had been so deranged as to suggest that the top officials of the government of the United States, in the executive branch, in the legislative branch, in the judiciary, had conspired to turn the country over to the Soviet Union, the *Saturday Review* would not have solemnly put forward Senator McCarthy's position as one side of a "debate" on the question? The blood of Editor Norman Cousins would run cold at the very thought that this was a debatable subject.

But he has published, in the May 31 issue of the *Saturday Review,* an article by Professor Fred Rodell of Yale University, accusing members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, of the Truman Administration, of the FBI, of the judiciary, of conspiring to forge a typewriter in order to frame Alger Hiss and put him in prison. The article is full of throat-catching heroics ("I am aware that my [making these accusations] may well bring FBI agents to my office soon after this piece appears"), swagger ("and welcome to them"), and exhibitionistic braggadocio ("If this be treason, Messrs. Nixon, Hoover, *et al.,* no statute of limitations has run against me. Make the most of it." [Thus a professor of law, on treason!]).

Fred Rodell is a professional bad boy, who loves this kind of thing, and could be persuaded, if he thought a little glamorous publicity lay at the other end of the statement, to contend that Joe McCarthy was really a woman. The question is, how does he rate the space? Merely because a newspaper reporter is wild enough to write a book charging the same thing?

The *Saturday Review's* sponsorship of Mr. Rodell's *exhibition* has curious roots. To open the "debate" between Professor Rodell and Victor Lasky (who competently disposed of the principal pretensions of the Hissites), the *Saturday Review* invited historian Walter Millis to write an introduction on "The Climate of the Hiss Trials." Historian Millis, of the Fund for the Republic, characterizes the period between Chambers' accusation of Hiss and Hiss' conviction: "These eighteen months from mid-1948 to early 1950 were a time of transition—of the transition, specifically, from moderation to McCarthyism." (McCarthy made his initial speech on Communism in the State Department one month *after* Hiss was convicted.) Historian Millis, presiding judicially over the debate, describes the public reaction to the Hiss-Chambers collision: "Liberal attachment to fair investigation and due process contended with loathing of Communism, with loyalties to or hatred of the New Deal, with fears of Russia and Russian espionage, with respect for Hiss's high public character (so sharply in contrast with that of Chambers) . . ." And Historian Millis' concluding sentence: "By January, 1950, the climate of the times revealed far greater, more complicated, tensions than those of 1948; by that time, *Hiss's conviction had, doubtless, become all but inevitable.*" Our italics, Mr. Millis' history. In a word, Hiss would have been convicted *whether or not he was guilty.*

The *Saturday Review* is a journal of exquisite moral pretensions, much given to preachments on personal, national, international, and cosmic morality. Even so, it blithely circularizes evil charges against the whole tier of top American officials who had a hand in apprehending a Soviet spy. The next time Mr. Cousins reminds us of our duty by the Senegalese—that'll be next week's issue, or, at the

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very latest, week after next—let us bear in mind his notions of decent behavior toward some very distinguished Americans.

Galindez—Dead or Alive

Now, two years and 82 days after the disappearance of Dr. Jesús de Galíndez (and roughly two years and 81 days after the Liberal press tried and convicted Generalissimo Trujillo of his abduction and murder), a noted New York attorney has published a 270-page report which says: a) There is no evidence that Galíndez is, in fact, dead; b) there is no evidence connecting Trujillo or his agents with the disappearance of the Columbia University lecturer, and c) "not a scintilla of evidence" has been found to substantiate the *Life* story that Galíndez was kidnapped in midtown Manhattan and flown to the Dominican Republic by that late pilot of fortune, Gerald Murphy.

What made this report just about as popular with the Establishment as the Dodgers in Los Angeles was that it was authored by Morris Ernst, a former chief counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union whose escutcheon was, up to this point, unblemished. Ernst, who was commissioned by Trujillo, spent ten months on the job. He points out that since no one has come forward who has seen Galíndez since he stepped out of a subway on 55th Street on March 12, 1956, there is not enough evidence to convict Trujillo—or anyone else—of his alleged assassination even though Galíndez had written an anti-Trujillo dissertation and was working on an anti-Trujillo novel.

In contesting the Murphy abduction story, Ernst maintains it was impossible, physically, for Murphy to have a) refueled at West Palm Beach, Florida, shortly before 8:00 A.M., March 13, b) flown to the Montecristi airport in the Dominican Republic (with Galíndez aboard), and c) checked in at a Miami airport at or about 3:00 P.M. that same day—as one witness says he did. If Murphy returned at 5:00, as it is also claimed, it would have been "barely possible, but improbable." Ernst claims also that Cuban authorities have informed him that on the day in question, Murphy landed in Cuba with arms for the Fidel Castro rebels.

In going over the evidence on which the case against Trujillo rested, Morris Ernst appears to have done a solid job. But he attempted to do more; to do too much. While maintaining that Galíndez was an honorable man ("a man of high ideals and practical accomplishments"), he nevertheless gives currency to charges that Galíndez had been a Communist, and then refutes them. He says it has been intimated that Galíndez had embezzled funds from the Basque government-in-exile—but that these charges probably are not true; he mentions that the ascetic Dr. Galíndez of popular legend was actually a high liver, inordinately interested in the opposite sex. In a word, Mr. Ernst comes to sound more the paid propagandist than the impartial investigator when he gives a convenient coloration to the character of the protagonist. When he goes that one step farther and states that "the whole history of Trujillo's war against his political opponents is unproven," Ernst is as guilty as his opponents of distortion.

The Liberal press, of course, will have none of this business of weighing evidence before hanging a politically uncongenial old dictator. Like it or not, and even more immaterial, guilty or not, Trujillo is cast as the villain in this and every other piece and will remain so, Galíndez dead or alive.

Notes and Asides

Our colleague, Dr. Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, will travel to America this fall for a three-months lecture tour. We have heard Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn lecture, and there is no more stimulating an experience. He speaks the English of a native (he taught in American colleges for several years during the war); he knows just about everything about everything; he is witty and fresh and buoyant; he is profound and versatile; and he is gloriously conservative. He has lectured in the past, and will again, on such topics as "America-Europe: The Great Misunderstanding"; "Neo-Conservatism and Neo-Liberalism"; "Renaissance and Reformation"; "Spain Today" (ditto for Germany, Italy, Austria); "Background of the Hungarian Revolution"; "Education in the Old World," and many other subjects. Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn will be in the East and Middle West of the United States during October, the Far West during November, and in Texas and the South in early December. He will be East again before Christmas. We shall be glad to forward any inquiries to Dr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn in the event some of our readers belong to organizations that would like to sponsor one of his lectures.

Our Contributors: MILDRED ADAMS MCLEARN ("Voluntary Taxation—A New Political Concept") is a former newspaper feature writer whose interest in the idea developed in her article goes back some ten years. She has taken courses in economics under Dr. Ludwig von Mises. . . . GEORGE KREMER ("Letter from France") is the pen name of one of Europe's most experienced analysts of Soviet and Communist behavior. . . . OZZIE CASWELL ("More Hazy than Crazy") is a composer by profession.

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NATIONAL TRENDS

L. BRENT BOZELL

The President Picks a Fight

The President addressed the Congress, Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin reported, in "rather astonishing language." This, in turn, was rather astonishing language for the circumspect Mr. Baldwin; under the circumstances, however, who could say him nay? The President had advised the country, less than six months ago, that Pentagon reorganization would have to be achieved through "a consensus" of the Congress and the services, and that "I would be the last to ask for a detailed organization in which I believe." Last week, after the House Armed Services Committee unanimously recommended several changes in the Administration's reorganization plan, Mr. Eisenhower read Congress the kind of lecture the grandchildren might get for hiding the golf balls.

One of the Committee's proposals, the President said, is "a *legalized bottleneck*"; it "puts a premium on intransigence by lower Pentagon levels." A second "is best described as the *'Everyone's out of step but me'* provision . . . it is an endorsement of duplication and standpatism . . ." A third amounts to *"legalized insubordination"*; among other things, it "invites insubordination to the President and Secretary of Defense," "endorses the idea of disunity" and "suggests that Congress *hopes for* disobedience and interservice rivalries." (His emphases.)

General Eisenhower's rudeness was not only a matter of language and tone: nowhere in his prepared statement did he allude to the Armed Services Committee's report. The Committee's arguments, while not unanswerable, were cogent and wanted answering.

For one thing, the Committee thought the secretaries of the three military departments should be retained in the *administrative* chain of command. The Committee went along with the President's request for authority to set up "unified combatant commands"—*i.e.*, fighting missions under a single commander who will be directly responsible to the Secretary of Defense and the President. In other matters, however, it felt that the military departments should receive their orders from their department chiefs—the Secretaries—rather than from some Assistant Secretary of Defense without statutory responsibility for his actions. Accordingly, the Committee added to the provision in the President's bill, "each military department shall be separately organized under its own secretary and shall function under the direction, authority and control of the Secretary of Defense," the words, "exercised through the respective secretaries of such departments."

This is what the President called "a legalized bottleneck." Eisenhower's charge should be weighed against the Committee's statement that it heard "no convincing evidence . . . that the *present* authority of the Secretary of Defense has been insufficient" to administer the Department effectively; that "no single instance was cited in which the authority of the Secretary of Defense has been challenged"; and that what confusion does prevail in this area *seems to be "attributable to the manner in which the law was administered rather than to any defect in the law itself."* (My emphasis.)

The President's second objection was directed against the Committee's recommendation that Congress reserve the power to veto, by concurrent resolution, any proposal by the executive branch to abolish a "major combatant function," or to transfer such a function from one service to another, or to consolidate it with another function. A "major combatant function" is—by definition in the Committee's proposal—one that any member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff does not believe ought to be abolished or transferred or consolidated. The provision, in effect, gives each service the right of appeal to Congress before it is deprived of any of its statutory assignments. This is the one that earned the President's curious label, "Everyone is out of step but me."

Actually, the Committee went a long way in acceding to the President's request for authority to repeal legislation by executive decree. Unless there is a protest from one of the Joint Chiefs, the executive's authority (to abolish the Marine Corps, for example) is plenary. And, notwithstanding a protest, that kind of thing can be done if the President determines that war is imminent. Moreover, the Secretary of Defense is given full power to reassign responsibility for development of new weapons or weapons systems. The Committee's point is that Congress has a constitutional responsibility to "provide for the common defense," and that this obligation implies "legislative determination of the broad roles and missions of the services." "In a practical sense, this is one of the few meaningful instruments by which Congress can discharge its responsibilities"; if it is surrendered, the Committee said, "little would remain for Congress except to appropriate funds."

The President saved his cruelest cuts for this final proposal by the Committee:

> No provision of this act shall be so construed to prevent a secretary of a military department or a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff from presenting to the Congress, on his own initiative, after first so informing the Secretary of Defense, any recommendations relating to the Department of Defense as he may deem proper.

"Legalized insubordination," said the President. Which was an odd way for the Nation's chief executive officer to describe a law that, presumably, he has been enforcing as long as he has been in office: the Committee's proposal would simply retain the existing law. Congressmen feel it is their only defense against Pentagon spoon-feeding.

What the President hopes to accomplish by his studied ferocity on the subject of Defense Department reorganization is difficult to say. Most likely, the posture has been tailored to fit someone's idea of a "fighting President." Mr. Eisenhower would be better advised, if the purpose is to influence Congress, to be himself.

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Voluntary Taxation— A New Political Concept

Representation, says the author, does not justify forced taxation. The right to vote should depend on one's uncoerced consent to pay a fair share of the costs of government

MILDRED ADAMS McLEARN

So far, all of us have been attempting to combat Communism—and all forms of collectivism—by employing middle-of-the road ideas and policies. This strategy is producing defeat in the cold war, and loss of our domestic liberty. A winning strategy would require us to oppose the socialist principle of solving every problem with government force over the individual, with what logically should be our basic principle: solving all our problems through voluntary action by the individual. We must face the elementary logic of the situation; either our way of life is effective enough to serve us now, or it is inadequate and we should give up the pretense that we are fighting for it.

But no one has risen up to champion, wholly and unreservedly, the principle of individual liberty. Even the individualists, who stand for voluntary action, have left a great Trojan Horse in their system for the use of the collectivist worshippers of coercion. This is compulsory taxation.

The Founding Fathers tried to solve man's eternal problem of liberty and government by conducting one of the noblest experiments in human history: But there was a fatal flaw in the Constitution they drafted, and this flaw ate at the heart of America and finally corrupted the government. That flaw was forced taxation. For the Fathers failed to realize that all compulsory taxation is tyranny, with or without representation. Grant coercive taxation, and the resulting monopoly of force, to a gang of politicians and bureaucrats, and the consequence is the very destruction of the Constitution that we are watching helplessly today. Of what use are "checks and balances" when each of these checks is corrupted by the arbitrary power of forced taxation, and all branches can cooperate to aggrandize government? *Forced taxation is the root of tyranny,* and from this root the bureaucracy has grown and misinterpreted the Constitution almost at will.

The solution, then, is to adopt the principle of pure liberty: voluntary, instead of coercive, support of government. In all of society, government is the only agency which obtains its revenue by force and violence. Men have cooperated voluntarily to build our civilization: voluntary methods have financed great productive aggregations of capital, great universities, Rotary Clubs, works of charity, and our whole nation-wide free market. All of these obtain their revenue by voluntary purchase or gift. Why not government?

Linked to the Vote

How might voluntary taxation work? Let's start with the franchise. The religious base of self-government is the faith that each man is worthy of the dignity of personal responsibility. Efforts to implement this belief have led to the free universal franchise, which ignores the fact that there can be no such thing as something for nothing in any field, whether in economics or voting. It is precisely this false assumption that underlies the free vote, which demagogues can easily exploit for their own purposes.

We declare by law that a man (or woman) has the right to vote, but we don't attach any responsibility for its exercise. We must learn that for every human right there is a corresponding duty or responsibility. And unless authority (the power of the vote) and responsibility (the obligation to pay the cost of the decisions) are commensurate, freedom dies. For that which is not responsible is not free. And that which is not responsible is not moral. Morality presupposes the absence of power of one person over another. Every man must pay the price of his own decision.

Under voluntary taxation the franchise would be based on the uncoerced willingness of the individual voter to pay his share of what is voted. This could take the form of a voluntary percentage income tax. A man's decision to vote (and to pay his share of the cost of government) would be made at registration time. Registration day would be the due date for the previous year's income tax returns to be mailed, and registering would merely consist in filing a tax return, which would indicate the voter's decision to exercise his franchise.

If registration day were set sufficiently in advance of election day, the revenue department could total all the incomes of the prospective voters and publish this figure along with the number of voters registered. This would permit the political parties to calculate what percentage of total income would be necessary to finance their various proposed programs. This percentage would apply uniformly to each individual, whether his income were that of a bank presi-

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dent or elevator operator. Each party, when planning its program, would list its objectives in the order of their importance, with accompanying estimates of the cost of each item (summarized briefly and simply enough for all to understand). The cost estimates of each party's program would be presented to the voter in terms of a percentage of his income, thereby giving the individual voter an exact picture of what to expect from each party's program and what these programs would cost him in taxes. For example: The Democratic Party might announce that its program, calling for X, Y and Z, would cost the voters 22 per cent of their income. The Republican Party, running on A, B, C, would need 15 per cent. The voters would choose, weighing program and cost. Payment of the tax after election would be voluntary, but failure to pay would forfeit a person's voting privilege until his tax account was squared.

Natural Selection

Wouldn't the taxpayer cheat? There is less incentive to cheat under this tax system than under any other: for there is no earthly pressure that could force anyone to vote and pay.

How many would voluntarily contribute a percentage of their income in exchange for the vote? The only ones qualified to retain the franchise: those who realize that every government service costs money and who are willing to pay their share. Here is a natural mode of selection in operation, picking the voters, with each man making the decision according to his own lights.

Is man mature enough for such a political system? We are, in this century, confronted with a crisis which demands that we solve the problems of self-government. If men require compulsion, the principle behind socialism, then freedom is indeed an idle dream. If men can live together successfully in a free society, they must act voluntarily.

How about the non-voter? Until he has become convinced that he wants the vote badly enough to pay his share voluntarily, the power of the vote in his hands is a dangerous thing. He is precisely the voter who, under our present system, is voting to "get his" because "the world owes him a living." His envy, the meanest of human traits, is the inspiration behind socialism, under which all are forcibly ground down to a hopeless equality on the lowest possible level. Voluntary taxation would make it impossible for a demagogue to play on this envy with a something-for-nothing song, the something to be seized from one's neighbor through forced taxation.

Would there be sufficient incentive for a man to be a taxpayer-voter? Remember that each man would be voluntarily helping to set his personal level of taxes when he voted, and since he would be spending his own money, he would be a canny buyer indeed. Such an electorate need never be stung twice by a political candidate who does not deliver on his promises. In fact, an entirely new type of candidate would appear on the American scene. The voter would become as right as the customer, and for the same reason. Voluntary taxation gives total authority to those citizens responsible enough to want to shoulder their share. All the national power of decision would rest in these voters. They would be fully paid in authority for the support they voluntarily gave the government, for they would control it.

Voluntary taxation would be applicable to the state and local, as well as national, governments. The principle is the same. The federal government could hardly remain free if the states were able to force taxes from individuals and use them to connive at interstate accumulations of power. And locally, the cities have always been among the most corrupt establishments in America. This will remain true so long as compulsory taxation exists.

How could voluntary taxation be started? The smallest village could give it a chance to prove its worth. If it were successful, a statewide trial in any interested state would draw the fascinated gaze of the entire nation, for a governing mechanism devoid of socialist taint would be testing the potential of politically free men. Its use would tend to spread only if the results were satisfactory. And as the fortunes of do-gooders and planners ebbed, and fear of government power receded, men could begin to discuss openly what they wanted to do cooperatively through a social agency and what they preferred to buy individually from an entrepreneur. Experience alone could answer this question, and the answer would probably vary from time to time and from place to place. Local conditions, genuine emergencies, changing customs and scientific progress would all influence the result. Voluntary taxation would be as flexible as the free market and just as responsive to men's needs.

In next week's issue we shall publish comments on Mrs. McLearn's article by Frank Chodorov, Henry Hazlitt, Felix Morley and Murray N. Rothbard. ED.

Obiter Dicta

South America: Saliva Test

Our neighbors have manifold charms and graces,
But some of their customs are funny:
They spit at our flag and they spit in our faces—
But not on our money.

Talmudic Reflection on the Summit

My folks have been Hebrews for thousands of years,
And a Jew is a bit of a critic:
And the more that I study, the more it appears
That I'm anti-Summitic.

MORRIE RYSKIND

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Letter from France

Through Anarchy to Communism

GEORGE KREMER

When discussing Soviet influence in France, American observers often commit the error of considering the existence of two branches of Soviet expansion only: the Communist Party and its organizations, and the Soviet intelligence machine. Little information is available on the latter form of penetration, and observers therefore base their conclusions on Party membership figures and the official Communist Party line. Such an approach occasionally leads to excessively encouraging inferences, for Communist Party membership in France has undoubtedly dropped since early postwar days, and the Party has lost many prominent militants.

Actually the situation deserves much more careful treatment. One should never forget that Soviet political strategy is founded on Lenin's doctrine that, in addition to the legal machine, Communism must maintain an important unofficial force which must be regarded as of greater value to the Communist cause. Another point to bear in mind is the traditional policy favored by Russian diplomacy in France, which has been developed and expanded under the Soviet regime. This policy (followed, for example, by Rachkovski, agent of the Russian police department in the early part of the present century), in addition to the operation of an intelligence machine, always sought support through various unofficial contacts—*e.g.*, with Masonic and financial circles.

Finally, it must be remembered that the present activity of the Communist Party in France is restricted by its known link with Moscow. Any false move by the Party, whether in the field of subversion or extremist propaganda, is immediately attributed to Moscow's instructions and may cause embarrassment to Soviet officials in France. At the same time, the Party is compelled, as a representative of international Moscow-directed Communism, and as bearer of the pure Party banner, to acclaim every Soviet move even if it is distasteful to the French people (Hungary may be cited as an example).

This loyalty to the USSR leads at times to a loss of potential Party followers. Among them we find "anti-Stalinists," Communists disagreeing with the Party line in France, independent left-wingers who otherwise believe in "the unity of the left," progressives who usually support Communist campaigns, members of Party "opposition" groups, Marxist "revisionists," Titoists and Tito enthusiasts, Gomulkists and Gomulka enthusiasts, and many others. All these innumerable political entities, grouped in no less innumerable organizations and skilfully manipulated by Soviet agents, form a tremendous destructive force outside official Communist ranks. Consequently, a careful survey of Soviet penetration in France should include the following "branches" of Soviet expansion:

1) The Soviet Embassy and satellite missions; 2) the Communist Party under Maurice Thorez; 3) the non-CP destructive force; 4) the underground intelligence machine.

In order to evaluate the true role of the "third branch" of Soviet activity one should take into consideration the fact that the communization of France and its transformation into a Soviet satellite is a long-range Soviet objective. The immediate objective is the destruction of the material and moral equilibrium of France and its removal from the Free World orbit. The most important achievement of Moscow's "third branch" is that it has succeeded in infiltrating the whole of French life—political, economic, social and cultural. It is with the help of this "third branch" that Moscow has driven France into its present predicament, and it is with the aid of this same branch that Moscow will settle the future of France by conspiring to form a people's front as an intermediary step to Communist seizure of power.

The tasks of the "third branch" are directed to a large extent toward intensifying conflicts, both domestic and foreign. Many of its members are sincere in believing themselves to be anti-Soviet, and point in justification to the anti-Soviet or non-Soviet views which they express. There is a seeming lack of harmony in the political lines supported by the groups to which these individuals adhere, but disharmony does not prevent these groups from uniting in disruptive activity aimed at destroying France as a center of freedom and democracy.

The Fourth International (Trotskyites) plays a particularly important role in the "third branch." Fourth International militants serve as driving belts and connecting links between groups and individuals; they organize splinter groups to draw "lone wolves" into active subversion.

Interesting conclusions may be drawn from the "moderate" slogans now officially advanced by the French Communist Party, as compared with the revolutionary line of the Fourth International. Briefly, the two programs call for the following:

Communist Party

1) "Union of the left" for peace and social progress with retention of freedom to indulge in mutual ideological and political criticism.

2) Compromise; abandonment of irrational anti-Communism and past dissensions in favor of common action to solve concrete problems.

3) International détente; democratic and national policy in foreign and domestic affairs.

Fourth International

1) Establishment of a "Socialist Society."

2) Creation of "People's Front" committees.

3) Creation of a "people's militia"; seizure of industrial enterprises by the people.

This comparison of the tactical slogans of the Communist Party and the Fourth International illustrates the contradictory forms assumed by Soviet subversive activity directed at promoting anarchy in France. It must be recognized, however, that the seeming conflict between these slogans often confuses foreign observers and leads them astray.

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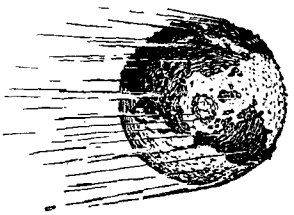

The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

De Gaulle and Africa

The overseas, and specifically the African, territories imposed the crisis on metropolitan France. The initiative that was seized by the Generals in Algiers found quick response in the Sudan, French Guiana, Brazzaville, Dakar and Madagascar. It should not be supposed that events were so arranged merely because hot-headed paratroopers were smarting from the humiliations of Indo-China, Suez and the local wars.

French Africa—France in Africa—could no longer endure the frivolity of the Fourth Republic. It was all very well for the people at home to be indifferent or cynical toward the antics of the jabbering deputies as, like third-rate actors in a bankrupt theater, they postured through the scenes of their parliamentary farce. At home the incomparable lush earth of France poured forth the matchless wheat and grapes, fed the calves and fat geese, whitened the cool endive, flavored the little beans and tiny peas, tenderly shaded the dew-freshened berries. At home—under the umbrella of American nuclear power and the ample rain of tourist and American-aid gold—the citizens could lounge at ease through their café hours, and move on to the meals that shame the banquets of Olympus.

But in Algeria no man could be sure when he lay down at night that he would rise in the morning. In a flaming hour the farm or orchard, shop or factory that embodied four generations of relentless effort would be consumed. There were few in Algeria—settler or soldier, Moslem or Christian—whose friends and relatives had not been killed in the night, raped, murdered with long tortures among which castration and tongue-ripping were dainty preliminaries. Meanwhile the pseudo-government of the Fourth Republic, paralyzed by its own will-lessness and the strategy of the Communists, could not win or end or even quit the war against the Moscow—and Cairo—backed terrorists of the "Liberation Front."

Most Americans picture Algeria in classical "colonial" style, as a backward country occupied by a handful of imperialist soldiers, landlords and finance-capitalists, who suck the blood of the "natives" for twenty years and then retire back home to live on pensions and absentee profits.

Algeria Observed

In truth, Algeria is not and never was a nation. It was merely an area, long occupied by shifting tribes, and ruled, more or less, by a succession of conquerors: Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Byzantines, Arabs. From 1518 to 1830 it was half-ruled by the Turks, but was chiefly famous as a base for pirates. Then the French moved in not as mere conquerors, exploiters and colonial administrators but rather like our own ancestors who were simultaneously moving into the Western frontiers: as permanent settlers, assimilators, civilizers. Algeria has been within the French customs system since 1867. Administratively it is part of France, with its deputies sitting in the French national assembly. One and a half million of its nine million permanent inhabitants are of European ancestry —most of them born in Algeria, many of families that have been there for a century.

But the Moslems of Algeria are also French citizens. In the war of 1914-18 the Algerians of African ancestry "showed," according to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "the utmost loyalty [to France] in spite of all foreign incitement to rebel. They furnished 173,000 fighting men and 119,000 workers." If Algeria were free of terror and if France had a responsible government, there is no proof that a majority would prefer the Liberation Front to Paris.

Through Generals Salan and Massu the French in Africa—military and *colons*, some Moslems at least along with Christians—were thus saying to their countrymen at home: "Things have gone on long enough. We are not going to sit idly by any longer having our throats cut while you continue with your parliamentary charades. We are going to bring things to a conclusion—one way or another, with you or despite you." It was from Africa, also, that France—led by de Gaulle—fought back to national life after the metropolitan region had succumbed to Hitler and to Vichy.

The African Vision

Since the end of the First World War there has been in France a school of thought whose adherents, otherwise of most diverse political alignments, contend that Europe's future is in Africa, and that France is the destined channel for Africa's Europeanization. The boldest of them see the process not in terms of a banal, old-fashioned imperialism but of world geopolitics and world history: the strategic defense of Europe by securing the southeastern frontier against the onslaught of Asia; the assimilation of Africa to Western and Christian as well as industrial civilization.

Thus viewed, the Anglo-French attack on Suez was an attempt to block the most vulnerable opening on the eastern flank. A Socialist premier (the same Mollet who now leads the pro-Gaullist wing of the Socialists) joined the military command in deciding on this operation. Dwight Eisenhower plus the Fourth Republic's internal decay condemned it to a rout for which the West will pay a fearful price.

Viewed in this perspective, the present French crisis is offering Europe and the West what is probably the last chance for Africa. Strategically, North Africa is the key to the whole. Is a North African federation still possible?—a federation based on the Algerian territories stretched west through Morocco, east through Tunisia, and south into the Sahara, the Sudan and on south and east, linked politically and culturally to France, through France to Europe and through Europe to the Atlantic community? It would take a political miracle, of course, in North Africa itself, in Paris—and in Washington. But miracles, too, are possible.

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Principles and Heresies

FRANK S. MEYER

The Meaning of McCarthyism

Now, a year after Senator McCarthy's death and three years or more after his political execution by the Watkins Committee, it should be possible to assess with reasonable objectivity the meaning of that movement of thought and action which the Liberals dubbed McCarthyism. It is too soon perhaps to grasp its significance *sub specie aeternitatis*, but we are sufficiently removed from the immediate clamors of those extraordinary years between 1950 and 1954 to abstract from the surface aspects, to see beyond the strengths and weaknesses of Senator McCarthy himself, to begin to delineate what it was that lay beneath those clamors and gave so intense a sense of urgency to those years.

Perhaps one way of approaching the problem is to consider what has changed since Senator McCarthy was eliminated from the political scene. Life is a great deal more tranquil. It was tranquil indeed when he was still alive but no longer heard, when in November 1956 we went about our business while our national honor died and the blood of our friends flooded the streets of Budapest. It is reasonably tranquil today (we are somewhat worried about the recession, of course), as we haggle about the conditions upon which we will meet with murderers on some summit, meanwhile rising at the Metropolitan Opera House to honor the murderers' anthem.

The commanding heights of our society are held by those who preach tranquility. There are problems, of course—out-sputniking Sputnik; out-propagandizing Khrushchev; winning friends and influencing people—Sukarno, Nehru, Nasser. But it is all part of the game, the give-and-take of coexistence. A few voices are raised, but hardly heard, to warn that coexistence with an enemy sworn to the destruction of Western civilization is an impossibility, that it can only lead to the victory of that enemy and to our defeat. But those voices are smothered by the soothing formulas poured down upon us from the heights where the Liberals of both parties sit.

What was it that in the McCarthy period broke through this mist? What was it that penetrated tranquility and brought the country as close as it has ever been to an understanding of the threatening danger? It certainly had nothing to do with Senator McCarthy's "tactics." They were the small change of American politics—nothing that has not been used on every side of every political controversy for scores of years. It was, I submit, an understanding, sometimes crudely expressed, sometimes shrewdly accurate, of the tragic truth of politics in the United States, as in all the West, in the last forty years: *the integral characteristics of the Liberalism which became increasingly predominant during those years are such that our present leadership can neither resist the infiltration of Communists within nor concert an effective strategy against Communists without.*

It was an instinctive realization of this among large sections of the American people which Senator McCarthy activated—a gnawing sense of something wrong, something which they could not define, but of which they were intuitively sure. Senator McCarthy, to be sure, did not contribute much towards definition. What he did was done not by analysis but by courage, pertinacity, and rhetorical expression of the mute and strangled common sense of millions of Americans.

Be it said that such an expression of the instincts of a people is not the best expression intellectually or aesthetically that could be found, nor, in the end, the most effective. Every society needs intellectuals capable of articulating its fundamental instinct in terms of reason and the accumulated wisdom of tradition. But what is to be done when the immense majority of the putative intellectual leaders of society go a-whoring after strange gods, whose blandishments both the traditions of their culture and the discipline of their profession should enable them to resist? Better by far the rough-hewn truth than a sophisticated and articulated apology for error.

Treason of the Intellectuals

It is unfortunate that the "treason of the intellectuals," their desertion of their duty to truth, has created that suspicion of intellectuality *per se* which gave rise to the ambiguous epithet, egghead, with all that word implies. It is unfortunate that a corrupt intellectuality has put intellectuality itself under suspicion. It is unfortunate that, these things being so, the attack of McCarthyism upon ideas which are dangerous errors and upon the intellectuals who hold these ideas could be so easily interpreted as an attack upon ideas and upon intellectuals in general. Although it is cold comfort to a society which desperately needs intellectuals inspired by truth, those who have perverted their role as articulators of the spirit of their society have only themselves to blame.

The attack on McCarthy as an uncouth enemy of ideas and culture was a defensive effort to confuse the issue which he expressed and dramatized. The normal outlet of Americans who disagree with prevailing authority, the Presidential election, had been foreclosed. The critics of established Liberalism, quadrennium after quadrennium, saw the Republican Party come under the sway of ideas only superficially different from those of the New Deal Democrats. A quiet and undramatic revolution had, since the early thirties, occupied the decisive positions of American society—not only in politics, but in mass communications which became daily more powerful, in the schools and universities, even in a large proportion of the pulpits. A civilization founded upon the premise of the inviolate primacy of the individual person was being steadily socialized.

For the solid citizen, well grounded in the tradition of his ancestors but unequipped in intellectual dialectics,

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this was a hard thing to combat. since every step in the growth of socialization was rhetorically defended by specious humanitarian appeals to ideals of charity and brotherhood, noble in themselves. Communism, he could place. With its avowed materialism and its insistence upon an unrestricted use of power to achieve its ideological goal, it was clearly evil. Although the product of the same ideological development as contemporary collectivist Liberalism, it had cast away all the moral inhibitions based upon an intellectually-rejected, but emotionally-held tradition, which Western Liberals not only appealed to in their propaganda but were affected by in their personal ethos.

Liberalism and Communism

Correctly, the American people refused to *identify* Liberalism and Communism; but that refusal to identify disarmed them in understanding the nature and danger of Liberalism in its *similarities* to Communism. The distrust remained in large sections of the population; but after the battles of the thirties, after the unification of the nation under Liberal leadership in World War II, it became harder and harder to put a name to that mistrust: Communism was evil; democracy was good; and since the Liberals were not Communists, why were they not, as the Communist threat began to develop after 1945, as much entitled as anyone else to lead the nation in the new developing crisis?

The answer to that question burst upon the nation first with the Hiss case in 1948, when overwhelmingly the Liberal Establishment rallied to Hiss' support. And when, despite all the odds in Hiss' favor, the single witness of Whittaker Chambers convinced not only a jury but the great mass of Americans that Hiss was indeed guilty, the issue was posed again, and more sharply: what are the credentials of the Liberals for the leadership of a free society?

The Hiss case was a sharp blow, but by itself it was not enough to establish the true character of Liberalism. After all, Hiss was but one man. He was personable and persuasive. His associates could well have been no worse than victims of his personality. The Hiss case did much, but not enough, to drive home the truth which Chambers so clearly stated in *Witness*:

> [The] drift [of the New Deal] was prevailing toward socialism, though the mass of those who, in part directed, in part were carried along by it, sincerely supposed that they were liberals . . . the New Deal was a genuine revolution, whose deepest purpose was not simply reform within existing traditions, but a basic change in the social, and, above all, the power relationships within the nation. It was not a revolution by violence. It was a revolution by bookkeeping and lawmaking. . . . Now I thought that I understood . . . how it happened that so many concealed Communists were clustered in Government, and how it was possible for them to operate so freely with so little fear of detection. For as between revolutionists who only half know what they are doing and revolutionists who know exactly what they are doing the latter are in a superb maneuvering position.

It was this socialist equivalence of the aims of the Liberals and the Communists, and the inability of the Liberals to protect themselves and the nation from the deeper and more malevolent aims of the Communists, which Senator McCarthy's activities dramatized. And it was his ability to express his perception of that connection existentially, if not analytically, that fired his following and gave point and meaning to the vague apprehensions which had so long existed without focus.

It was this—not McCarthy's "methods," which differed not a whit from those of the Teapot Dome investigations and the Black Committee—that brought upon his head the whole accumulated weight of entrenched Liberalism. For a moment it seemed as though for the first time since its establishment in 1932, the Liberal leadership might face a serious challenge.

It is interesting, if fruitless practically, to speculate what might have happened if a substantial number of the intellectual molders of opinion had recognized the essential truth McCarthyism represented and had articulated its meaning in detail: 1) that contemporary Liberalism is in agreement with Communism on the most essential point—the necessity and desirability of socialism; 2) that it regards all inherited value—theological, philosophical, political—as without intrinsic virtue or authority; 3) that, therefore, no irreconcilable differences exist between it and Communism—only differences as to method and means; and 4) that, in view of these characteristics of their ideology, the Liberals are unfit for the leadership of a free society, and intrinsically incapable of offering serious opposition to the Communist offensive.

But such a breach in the ranks of the Establishment did not occur. Except for a small handful, the accepted leaders of the nation were anti-McCarthyite to a man. Most even of those whose record in the fight against Communism was honorable, those who knew that fundamentally Senator McCarthy was right, joined the solid phalanx against him, mumbling that, somehow, he was hindering the fight against Communism.

Senator McCarthy was defeated and he died. McCarthyism, which was never an organized movement, despite the troubled fears of the Liberals, dissipated. After his defeat, before his physical death, the Hungarian shame occurred. This spring we are handing over Indonesia to the Communists without raising a finger. Coexistence, cultural exchange, is the order of the day. We play coy and we jitter-jatter about the conditions of a summit meeting, but we never reject in principle the very concept of meeting in peace with murderers and enslavers, as we would have refused to meet with Hitler.

The Liberal Establishment, its ideological presuppositions being what they are, can make great noises, but it cannot fundamentally and finally regard Communism as an irreconcilable enemy. With appropriate modifications, its slogan is that of the thirties in France: "*Pas d'ennemis à gauche*—no enemies, at least no irreconcilable enemies, to the Left. McCarthyism is more dangerous than Communism."

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Fact on Russia; Fable on China

WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

The difference between John Gunther's account of the Soviet Union, *Inside Russia Today* (Harper, $5.95), and Simone de Beauvoir's tales of Red China, *The Long March* (World, $7.50) is the difference between first-rate reporting and second-rate fellow-traveler propaganda. Mr. Gunther, obviously challenged and fascinated by the very difficulties of describing and interpreting the Soviet Union, has brought off the finest book yet written on post-Stalin Russia and certainly one of the most serious and solid of his "Inside" series. The best use anyone unfortunate enough to receive Mlle. de Beauvoir's story of her meanderings in the enchanted Chinese garden of Mao Tse-tung could make of it would be to dispose of it quickly at the nearest second-hand bookstore.

As usual, Mr. Gunther's writing shows the quick eye of the experienced roving reporter, with a remarkable gift for collecting salient facts, small and large, which convey the feeling of the places which he has visited. His description suggests the possibility that, if a really dangerous tumult should ever break out in the Soviet Union, it would be the result not of some carefully thought-out program of counterrevolution, but of sheer boredom and frustration. So far the Soviet authorities have been obliged to cope only with juvenile delinquency (despite the fact that Soviet schools are much better disciplined than American), and with excessive alcoholism, natural consequences of inhumanly crowded living conditions and an almost complete lack of color and amusement in daily life. As for Soviet newspapers, these must be read to appreciate the nadir of dullness which they succeed in achieving.

There is, however, much more in this stout volume of 550 pages than the random impressions of a journalistic traveler. Mr. Gunther has done a good deal of faithful homework, consulting a wide variety of books listed in his bibliography, and translations from the Soviet press, besides obviously pumping the foreign embassies for whatever information was available and making the most of opportunities to meet Khrushchev and other top Soviet brass at the convivial receptions which have been a new social feature of Moscow life since the death of the secluded monster Stalin.

He also offers a capsule sketch of Russian history from the early Scythians to the recent rise to power of Nikita the First, by methods amazingly similar to those of his predecessor, Josef Stalin. He recognizes Soviet industrial, scientific and military progress, while noting that the majority of the people are "sordidly poor." He also notes the extraordinary lag in agriculture, which he calls "by far the sorest spot in Russia." Some people say, he observes, that the peasants are worse off than their grandfathers, who were serfs.

The conclusions which Mr. Gunther draws from his wealth of reporting and analysis are modest and general. He thinks the Soviet Union is strong, not weak, and that its rulers desire peace, although he recognizes that they are "gambling for the world" and that their conception of peace is an arrangement strictly on their terms.

Sometimes giving the impression of leaning over backward rather hard in an attempt to be fair, the author becomes a little woolly in his judgments, if not downright self-contradictory. And there are inevitably a few errors of fact and emphasis. The extent of foreign intervention in the Russian civil war is exaggerated; had Britain and France helped Denikin and Kolchak as much as Germany and Italy helped Franco, it is highly probable that the Soviet regime would not be in existence today. Further, it would take better historical evidence than the assertion of Vera Micheles Dean to prove that Britain proposed to annex the Baku area and France the Crimea. The true story of Allied intervention in Russia was a pitiful record of cross-purposes and futility.

But on balance the pluses clearly outweigh the minuses in this massive coverage of the Soviet Union; and one can forgive the author a few slips for the forthright pronouncement: "Unimportant as the statement is, I for one would willingly die if by so doing I could prevent the export of the Soviet system to, let us say, a country like Denmark."

One other remark of Gunther that may be a suggestive footnote to contemporary history: "So far as I could tell, the Kremlin bosses were strongly pro-Eisenhower, although cool to Nixon."

THE DOWNRIGHT stupidity of Simone de Beauvoir's tale of her conducted tour in Red China is best conveyed through a few characteristic quotations of her own words:

> The great good fortune of the Chinese today is that the private interest of each individual very precisely coincides with the general interest of the country. . . . Nearly 600 million men know that their personal prosperity is indissolubly linked to that of the state and its to theirs. . . .
>
> If in a very short time China does not get a sufficient quantity of tractors, coal, electrical power, she and every last Chinese will be done for. . . .
>
> The Chinese government is aware of its duty to serve the nation; it considers truth its soundest ally.

No journalist of any experience,

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competence or integrity would make himself ridiculous by pretending to know what 600 million Chinese "know," or even think, or by linking the fate of China to some bureaucrat's figure of a desirable output of tractors, coal and electrical power.

There is some poisonous vilification of Catholic missions in China, taken with unflinching credulity from the same propaganda mills that ground out the lies about American "germ warfare" in Korea. And the author, who is completely humorless in her fellow-traveler apologetics, carries on a running guerrilla war with some of her countrymen, French businessmen and journalists whose knowledge of China matches Mlle. de Beauvoir's ignorance. In the 500 pages of this wordy book, reeking with lush false sentimentality, there is not a word to explain why the majority of Chinese prisoners captured in Korea chose to go to Formosa or why Hongkong is bursting at the seams with refugees or why, in a state of society which is depicted as a near paradise, there have been so many executions, mass deportations and famines.

Fortunately for the honor of French journalism, a correspondent of long Far Eastern experience and excellent equipment in Oriental languages, M. Robert Guillain, has recently published a book as informative about Red China as Mlle. de Beauvoir's is the reverse. In typically French fashion he found the *mot juste* to sum up his impression of what the Chinese people, whom he had loved and admired, had been reduced to under Communism. They suggested a large hive of "blue ants."

Who's a Fossil?

RUSSELL KIRK

"FAITH transcends and dissolves all creeds," Professor Albert Guérard writes in *Fossils and Presences* (Stanford, $5.00). "The only God is that power within ourselves who to the intellect is Mystery, and to the heart is Charity." While this god of Mr. Guérard's may be somewhat more satisfactory than Caliban's "my damned god, Setebos," he is not God. Mr. Guérard's god is no more godlike than the "Religious Humanist Manifesto" of John Dewey and his associates was religious or humane. And Mr. Guérard's Presences are not supernatural, you may be sure; they are merely "those powers, past, present, and future, which are helping us and guiding us." They are ritualistic Liberal and disintegrated Liberal Presences.

Professor Guérard's Fossils are "those established powers—perhaps once potent for good—which are now a drag in our quest." Among them are "rugged individualism" (a term Mr. Guérard thumps every few pages), tradition, and any organic concept of society. And where is our Quest taking us? Well, there are no enemies to the Left, you know. To be sure, those Stalinists seem to be rather unpleasant fellows; but everyone ought to know that Franco is worse; and, besides, the early Christians were Communists—so Mr. Guérard says.

Mr. Robert Raynolds once remarked to me that the principal characteristic of the liberalism of the twenties and thirties was not any particular political dogma, but rather that concept (distorted from a philosophical term) still cherished among the eggheads, "ambivalence." There are at least two sides to every question; and no one knows the answers; and of course there are no norms by which we can be guided: so spake yesterday's Liberals.

Mr. Guérard, Professor of General and Comparative Literature, Emeritus, still speaks so. "For fifty years, I have clutched the firm assurance that all things flow." We are moving onward to a splendid future, Mr. Guérard is sure—a wonderful future of universal uniformity. He is sure of nothing else, except that he hates General Franco and rugged individualism, and that the Paris Commune and Blum's Popular Front were Good Things. "A more consistent Cartesian than Descartes himself, I hold that thought is and must remain systematic doubt." Mr. Guérard is proud of being an intellectual: "My mind was formed at the time of the Dreyfus crisis. . . . Sixty years have gone by, and I have not repented my choice." No doubts about that, anyway. But was Professor Guérard's mind formed then? Or was it frozen then?

All in all, Mr. Guérard is a prime example of the intellectual who, as M. Raymond Aron says, has taken the opium of ideology. The essays in *Fossils and Presences* illustrate M. Aron's chapters in *The Opium of the Intellectuals*: "The Myth of the Revolution," "The Myth of the Left," "The Myth of the Proletariat." For Mr. Guérard, Revolution, Left, and Proletariat (this last, however, called The People) are Presences. Yet Mr. Guérard, you are to understand, detests all prejudices—except his own.

PRUDENCE, like cheerfulness, will keep breaking in. Although Professor Guérard goes all the way with that great statesman Wendell Willkie, Justice Douglas makes him a little nervous, for Mr. Guérard doesn't like massacres of Frenchmen, in Hanoi or North Africa: "It is strange that a noted jurist like Justice William O. Douglas, misled by his generous aspirations, should express his sympathy with destructive lawlessness." Doubtless sweet Liberal reason will solve all these little difficulties, however; for Mr. Guérard has faith in the Future. (He denounces the state of Israel because it has the temerity to be archaic.) What are we to do about the Middle East, for instance? Why, here, as everywhere else, all we really need is "tolerance, mutual consideration, friendliness, everywhere in the world." And we really must stop gratuitously insulting the Middle East by calling it a political vacuum; those Middle Easterners will get ever so annoyed. And we wicked Americans deny the Middle East "the elementary right freely to choose its friends." Soviet Russian friends? Well, there aren't any *real* enemies to the Left, you know. One should never call names, unless one has to do with Dixieland, Spaniards, aristocrats, and the abominable Profit Motive.

But to resume: the solution in Palestine is "a free and fair discussion between Arabs and Jews. Neither side can be coerced into the above solution, or any other; both sides could be gently urged into seeking a reasonable *modus vivendi;* and the gentle-

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ness of the United Nations could be very firm." Who would have guessed it was all so simple? If some voice should murmur that the United Nations have been doing precisely this, for the past several years—why, Professor Guérard knows a totalitarian obscurant when he hears one.

Louis XVIII learned nothing from the Revolution and Napoleon, and forgot nothing. (Professor Guérard, in passing, is very much opposed to the theory of the divine right of kings, which he regards as a fossilized force of dreadful power in the twentieth century.) Mr. Guérard, on the other hand, seems conveniently to have forgotten a great many facts about the terrible events of the past twenty years; but, like the Bourbon, he has succeeded in learning nothing from recent history. Sometimes it is hard to be a fossil, like this reviewer: a hopeless fossil, and only half Mr. Guérard's age. Yet there are fates more dismaying still: and one of them is to have become a beetle in amber, a conformist champion of noncomformity, a dogmatic defender of the open mind, a Liberal who made up his opinions when Dreyfus was tried, and never has been moved by reason since.

Jazz

More Hazy than Crazy

OZZIE CASWELL

I DENY IT, of course, but my friend claims that I read down the middle of the page. The truth is, I often see both sides as well; especially when the prose flows easily, and the content is as light-to-frothy as *That Crazy American Music*, by Elliot Paul (Bobbs-Merrill, $4.00). This book came to hand while I was momentarily sensitive to my friend's criticism, and I resolved to read it slowly from left to right. No sooner said, than my eye muscles weren't up to it. I found myself compensating by moving my head from side to side; and the more I read, the more appropriate the gesture.

Half of the book goes by before the title music appears. It turns out to be jazz—Dixieland, Blues, Boogie, and Bop—as developed and performed by American Negroes.

The long introduction is an extraordinary hodgepodge. All sorts of anecdotes and much that is blithely irrelevant are tossed in with brief biographical sketches of musical personalities like Sidney Lanier, Stephen Foster, Paul Dresser and others who turned out hit songs reflecting the changing denominators of popular taste.

Not to be outdone by best-sellers catering to current popular taste, this book discovers an immediate relationship between music and sex. And it discovers it again and again: that old Freudian magic appears as often as a Wagnerian leitmotif. The theme becomes boring if only by repetition; the itchy, and those in need of titillation, will find it fine fare. In and out and among all of this, we gather some casual information about earlier American culture, a few tidbits concerning choirboys and Indians, and amazingly little in the matter of American music.

With the "crazy" music, the book settles into high gear and follows a more organized itinerary. Capsule chapters on jazz royalty are held together by emotionally perceptive but technically naive discussions of Boogie Woogie and Bop. Here, the author's pithy rhetoric renders him more effective than if he were really informed about his subject, for then his conviction would suffer. One doesn't have to be too informed about music to have differences with him. A book on jazz that disposes of Gershwin in only one sentence as the composer of "Lady, Be Good" is indeed somewhat remiss. And the praise of today's teen-agers—"Cream of the American public"—as arbiters of the musically good must be sung *regurgitato*. Yet, there is much that finds me in heartfelt concurrence: "Marian Anderson sings 'I Don't Hear Nobody Pray' less than half as well as Ethel Waters does"; or "The quota for lyricists who will be admitted to hell . . . must never be filled until the three lyricists who severally perpetrated 'I Believe' are sizzling, spitted on the cruelest pitchforks." This is the Elliot Paul I would have enjoyed meeting. But, if one must read about jazz to enjoy it, this is not quite the book.

FOR A more effective primer, look to a book like Mezzrow's *Really The Blues*. In this, there is a good chance to absorb something of what jazz is about. It will never be found in the sterile mathematics of ninth chords and progressions, or in the dexterity of pianist Hazel Scott's left hand. No technical discovery, this, but an intimate, revelatory realization of the emotional drives without which jazz has no *raison d'être*. Objectively, this is a primitive music, flagrantly derivative, shallow and banal. But oh how it celebrates the prime element—rhythm; and how full the scope of individual improvisation its performance entails! This is its real forte, and in this sense it is art. Unfortunately for jazz, this simplicity isn't obvious to the literary intellectuals. So certain that it all started in the shady parlors of New Orleans, they trip the light semantic and somehow wind up with "crazy" meaning *touched* and jazz raised to the status of sacred cow. In their lexicon, the dissenter is a square.

J. Doe, the original square, is the man who knows what he likes when he hears it. It's better than even money that he listens, but is unable to hear. The truth is, he likes what

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he learns to like, and his teachers are disc jockeys and record reviewers. For the most part, they too don't hear; the few who do must either pretend they don't or are reluctant to quarrel with success.

Not so the *avant-garde* which holds forth at the sign of the sacred cow. Articulately scornful of hillbilly caterwauling, the new prophets squirm with pleasure at the not too dissimilar products of split-level vocal antics. They gravitate to metropolitan oases, and preach progressive jazz, and modern jazz, and Brubeck jazz, and strange new combos that "sound." Felonies are compounded in San Francisco, where what passes for poetry is declaimed to the so-called accompaniment of a "cool" beat. True believers and eggheads-at-large vibrate in sympathy, buzzing approval; the imperturbable fog rolls in despite new sonic barriers. But jazz is with us despite Elvis, and despite the bearded baroque boys with their dead-toned chamber ensembles. We hear it in the trumpet of Louis Armstrong, in Jack Teagarden's bluesy trombone, in the inspired keening of Ella Fitzgerald.

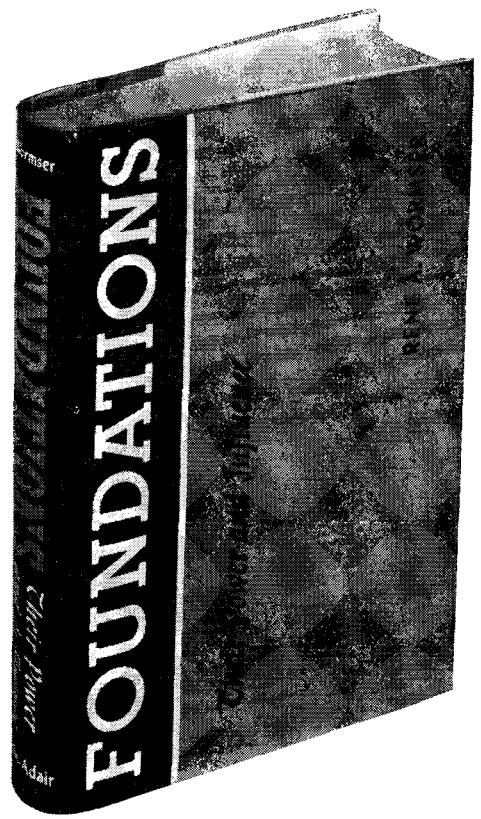
Books in Brief

THE LONDON DIARY (1717-1721) AND OTHER WRITINGS OF WILLIAM BYRD OF VIRGINIA, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Oxford, $10.00). The hour he rose, the weather, what he ate; whom he visited, played cards, or gossiped with during the day; the lady of the night and whether or not he said his prayers: these are the stock items which William Byrd recorded in secret shorthand for years; and if one is curious about human beings, his diary is of almost no interest at all, unless it be to prove how consistently uncomplex—how like a healthy tomcat—a grown-up man can be. But if one is interested in the way-of-life and *mise-en-scène* of an early eighteenth-century American colonial who divided his time between his Virginia plantation and Hanoverian London, this is solid documentation. For people who nowadays tend to hold as nostalgically idealized a view of the eighteenth-century average gentlemen as he, in turn, held of the Noble Savage, it ought also to be slightly disenchanting. Morally, rationally, and materially secure as he may have been, he could at the same time preserve, in that tiny area two inches behind his forehead, a nearly total vacuum.

R. PHELPS

THE ARCTIC YEAR, by Peter Freuchen and Finn Salomsen (Putnam, $5.95). This is one of the most beautiful books written in recent years. Not because it is poetic or dramatic. Actually, it is written like a laboratory report, but the subject matter in itself is poetry, involving the "ecology of life," how man and other forms of life are affected by the Arctic's changing seasons. Arctic life is simple and clear. All that is superfluous has been eliminated. There are no trees, no houses, no noise; often there are no other human beings near you for scores of miles in this white area. Reading about it, you feel close to the basic secrets of nature—although sometimes these secrets seem a little too basic.

E. K. ROOSEVELT



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To the Editor

Dag's Iron Self-Control

In your "For the Record" column of May 24 you note: "UN Secretary-General Dag Hammerskjold is pictured by his friends as a shaken and angry man as a result of his fruitless mission to Moscow. Khrushchev reportedly refused even to discuss Hungary, was uncompromising in all conversations, and lectured Hammerskjold on Marxism."

Apparently Dag was so "shaken" and "angry" that he came back to the United Nations and announced that beginning July 1 he will make a Soviet citizen, Anatoly F. Dobrynin (United Nations Under Secretary), *head of the important Department of Political and Security Affairs*—a department which has handled disarmament.

It's interesting to speculate whom Dag would have appointed to this job if he had not been so angry with the big Soviet Boss!

Baltimore, Md. MARIE A. HAMILL

"A Plea for Sanity!"

I'm still chuckling over the back page of your May 17 issue—"A Plea for Sanity!" by the "National Committee for Unconditional Nuclear Surrender." My heartfelt congratulations to the clever lads who put that together!

Hempstead, N.Y. MRS. C. JOS. NOWAK

Some time ago I swore off writing letters to you because I do not wish to resemble the man who kept crying out, "Hey, Mister, you're good again!" But you make it hard for me to keep my resolution, and so I write now to congratulate you on the marvelously fine back cover, "A Plea for Sanity!"

Auburn, Ala. T. C. HOEPFNER

Every once in awhile I have an extra quarter and purchase NATIONAL REVIEW. I was so disturbed by your May 17 edition that I decided never to waste my money again.

In our day and age when nuclear weapons may and can destroy mankind, your magazine attempts to show how silly it really is to try and end the nuclear tests. I found the satire to cease the tests in very bad taste as are so many of the articles in your magazine.

The next time I have an extra quarter I shall . . . do something constructive and buy the *New Republic*, the *Nation*, or some other magazines which attempt to find a workable solution. These magazines attempt to find a middle road to the problems facing the world today. . . .

New York City FRED ROTTENBERG

If only the U.S. had followed the recommendations of the Nation *and the* New Republic *during the last thirty years!* ED.

Readers Debate

Regarding Dr. Longyear's letter to you in the May 10 issue, I should like to observe:

1. The purpose of "philosophical" education courses is not to emphasize the prevailing philosophy of education, but rather should be to present all philosophies of education. Just because a philosophy is current does not mean that it is correct.

2. Methods of education are based on a philosophy of education; hence, methods by themselves can not be a criterion for evaluating textbooks.

3. It is *not* necessary to have taken methods courses to "condemn" them. One can induce the inherent rightness or wrongness of a system of education by its results.

DONALD P. MILLER
San Patricio, Puerto Rico

Victory for the Vanquished

Whittaker Chambers sees the light but only partly [May 31]. . . . The farmers he speaks of, who resisted, may not have prevented the bureaucrats from encroaching upon their land but they did prevent them from encroaching upon themselves. The real battle is not over a piece of real estate but over the allegiance of men.

Every individual who resists coercion in matters of his inalienable rights wins a victory as long as his will to resist is not destroyed. He, as an individual, is not conquered. The enemy is still outside hacking away at the impregnable walls.

Throughout the country farmers and groups of farmers, individuals and groups of individuals are continuing the resistance to coercive bureaucracy. If they give up they sell out both man and God. . . .

PHILIP E. O'CONNELL
South Weymouth, Mass.

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